[illegible]

[illegible] The accompanying features of gambling games are swiftness, excitement, and surreptitiousness. The aim is to outdo the opponent by as much dissimulation as possible. Intense emotion is experienced in the playing of the game between guests, when losers throw over their clothing and even weapons. Such games are often prolonged when a winner fails to catch his breath and must wait for it in the game, or when a winner has to give his opponent enough time to collect and has no money to pay his bet, he may continue playing and win his opponent's back. Those men who gamble are often confused by the custom of a new acquaintance having a game to test, out, or initiate. Politely expressive bets as to who has, within his short absence from he is "through," the absentee player participates in participate in the winnings or losses of his side and is obliged to pay his forfeits or proceeds to collect his winnings.

Gambling players are often to burlesque while they are betting, particularly if they are playing against a cross-sexual. Louis Ishua, for example, after withdrawing his hands from behind his shoulder, pretendingly stretched out her forward the fan, placing the other behind on back. As was obviously expected, the captain indicated the hidden hand. Triumphantly Louis displayed the other in the counterfeited hand. Sometimes games become common between two dominant personalities who enjoy repartee as capable players, as when Louis Ishua played against Dan Long, each being captain of one team. Repeatedly both of them were would call someone on the other side but the opposing captain, and the game would continue with one captain matching his men against the other. The swiftness of the game facilitates cheating, and sometimes games break up with considerable hard feeling as one side accuses the other of unfair playing. In general, the Indians are not good losers and consequently often endure by aggression in the form of nagging and scoffed derogatory remarks concerning the opponents. It is obvious that the game is not played for the financial stakes but rather for the excitement and pleasure which the gambling promotes.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

[illegible] Although it was one winter, Dorothy Flower, gave birth to a son in the hospital at Whitehorse, most women continue to bear children without white medical assistance. Whenever possible an attempt is made to keep the expectant mother in a winter settlement where experienced female help will be available to assist in delivery and postnatal care. This continues as two places possible, however, and sometimes (especially if birth is premature) an older woman is known to deliver her own child or is assisted by her white husband. No case was heard of an Indian man aiding parturition. During the summer at Lower Post, a midwife woman is generally called upon when labor becomes severe. The duration of labor noted was from three to nine hours, the latter for a fourth pregnancy.

Delivery is with the parturient in a sitting position. The cord is cut with scissors, and mother and child are then washed with warm water. The baby, its legs laid straight, is wrapped in blankets with the hands bound to its sides and placed on bed next to the mother. The afterbirth is thrown for every in the bush or may be hung in a tree. No special precautions are taken with premature babies.

§86 Nikki to Simpson Lake and would probably try to persuade the girl's father to reorganize Nikki's new relationship. Shortly after this Nikki left Old Man's place to go to Lower Post.

From this point on it was no longer possible to remain clearly in touch with events as they transpired. Apparently Nikki returned to his father's place and found that, as a result of a series of latent quarrels, Nikki and John had become estranged. In mid-December John reported to the ethnographer that Nikki and Nikki were living together on Nikki's father's trap line.

The case is admittedly open to several interpretations but it may serve as an illustration of the interpersonal processes underlying divorce and of the accommodations adopted by each member of a triangle to defend himself in the face of public opinion. It is interesting that, despite adverse sentiment, Nikki and John were not assailed by other young couples (including John's former wife), but that John and Nikki were often reluctant to show themselves in public. Nikki, who felt he had right on his side, found no social pressure to shield couples to reestablish his control over either his wife or child. Eventually he was forced to withdraw. In one of his last interviews at Old Man's place he gave some indication of the strength of his emotional reactions. "Can't sit down one place," he said. "Too much worry. Can't stay here. Good-bye tomorrow get soon." Asked what he worried about, Nikki replied: "I worry. Your mouse stay alone for other men, you can't feel good. I go down Lower Post. He keep my girl too. He say he never keep your girl. He just feel for me . . . Crazy man! No good for woman. Then first girl he can't keep it. He get it again. He lick him too. . . . Sometime too much think about it. I don't want to stay here. Too much think about it. . . . Well, he burning my heart now. I can't let him go my kids. No matter how many mile I go, I can't forget my kids. My kids be hold your mother for me now."

§87 While widows are ostensibly slow to seeking a new spouse, both divorced and widowed men are quick to seek remarriage. Generally such secondary marriages are more easily accomplished by widowers than by divorcees, since the reputation of the latter is seldom calculated to inspire a woman's confidence. Often a young man who has lost his wife through death will ask her parents for one of her sisters, such a request is readily granted and this may be regarded as a preferred form of secondary marriage. Older men who have been widowed tend to marry widows. Bride service does not occur with a remarriage if the husband already possesses his own trap line and independent residence. Such a man will, however, generally stand ready to assist his father-in-law in any major piece of construction.

§93 *Pregnancy.* Like childbirth, pregnancy is not marked by excessive concern or anxiety either in the case of the mother or other people immediately concerned with the process. In the early period of pregnancy the woman exhibits little concern with her own health or with the safety of the fetus. Pregnant girls were observed bicycling and wrestling into the fifth and sixth months. Housework duties and even traveling are continued until the time of parturition. Sometimes this lack of concern results in accidents. Thus John Kostu' first wife, who was almost ready to deliver, died in a sleigh upset that promoted miscarriage. Commenting on this lack of precaution, Old Man said: "They're not smart. " I don't know what's wrong. . . . That's why she die." In the later period of pregnancy a woman is sometimes shy and retires from public appearance. At no time is a woman's pregnancy discussed or commented upon, the process being politely ignored.

lodges. These were conceived slightly as that the [illegible] consisted of a circular hole or depression a little lower than the base of the lodge walls. These lodges were covered with mats or dry grass. Near the end of the lodge a short pole was set more nearly to the ground. This formed a vertical post to height about equal to a person sitting on the ground. The butt end of a lighter pole was made to the floor of the lodge a short distance from the post and the smaller end bent down and fastened to the latter at a point a little below the top of same. This pole formed a kind of quarter circle or half bow and was adjusted for length and height to suit the woman's convenience. Over this pole the woman leaned with her arms supporting it or holding it when giving birth, or at least when having birth pains. The woman was attended by one or more (generally several) female relatives or neighbors who had experience or who had given birth to children. The woman's husband and all men were excluded from presence at the confinement and they were not expected to give assistance of any kind. Only in cases of child birth when no women happened to be near, did the woman's husband attend to his wife. When giving birth [illegible] difficult or protracted the midwife (or attendant women) helped delivery by kneading and massaging downwards, etc., on the belly and sometimes also with her hand in dilating and assisting the passage of the child. Hot drinks were also given the woman. Sometimes generally felt along the neck of the child being born to see the string did not encircle the neck and cause choking. Only in cases of very hard births was the assistance of men or doctors sought. These men were shamans or others who had knowledge of the mystery of birth. All of them had actually witnessed the birth of game, viz., had open gents, caribou and other game animals giving birth to their young. They also in communion with their familiars had received knowledge about the mystery of birth or had been instructed by game mothers regarding same. Some of these men had helped game to give birth and they were considered the most powerful of this class of men. Generally they had helped a female of some kind of game to give birth by striking or touching her with gun cover, a stick, switch, skin, etc. Some helped in other ways such as by painting her red. Thus each man differed somewhat in method and experience. No two were exactly alike in their knowledge and procedure. When a case was much protracted and had gone beyond the powers of the midwives one of these men was summoned. Before entering he went around the confinement lodge sunwise,

[illegible] 845
708

[illegible] the patient with a shock or pierced [illegible] but cut, or did whatever he had been accustomed to do when helping mothers, goat or other game animals to give birth. This helped the women to give birth naturally or as easily as game. If one of these was not helped as animal to give birth and the young had been stillborn or had died shortly after birth, he never tried his powers on women nor attempted to help them, for if he did their children would also be stillborn or would die in the same way.

The navel string was tied with sinew thread 846
and cut with any kind of sharp knife (scissors are often used nowadays). No medicine was given to hasten the coming of the afterbirth. The latter was taken to some secluded place near by and hung up to a tree. The length of the string connecting the afterbirth with the child was observed. If it was long it was said the child would live to a great age. If of moderate length the child would live to an average age and if short the child would die young. The midwife wiped the mouth, nose and eyes of the newly born infant and touched those features lightly with her fingers as if shaping them in a certain way. This was done so those features would grow right and afterwards be of good shape and proportion. The head was not touched nor shaped in any way at birth or later. Dressing of infants' heads was never practised

[illegible]

516
778 [illegible] a [illegible] of [illegible] the
ends of the cowpeas were sharp enough to [illegible]
the ends being wide to fit the diameter of the string.
The opposite enclosed in the ends were feathers, down,
and if birds etc., and then sewed up the openings.
Some of these things were talismanic or that they
believed to continue for the child. Some were antidotes
of their own evil and some were charms to ensure
protection during childhood and success in hunting
etc., when the child became an adult.(see National
Museum Specimen No. 87.)

946 No gum or particular medicine was put on the
child's navel to make it heal. It was merely powdered
with charcoal. Electrical power was also used on all
parts of infants where clotting might occur such as in
the armpits, around the neck, etc.

945 Twins Twins were occasional, but there are no cases in
memory of triplets having been born. There were no
beliefs regarding twins similar to those held by the
Thompson and other tribes to the south, and no special
ceremonies in connection with the birth and rearing of
twins. Neither were twins supposed to have any special
powers of any kind. In fact twins were considered
rather unlucky and some considered them not as strong
as other children. It was thought they were more liable
to die young than other children. Also if one died the

either was totally to the case as both were considered to have, as it were, one breath. They were always to be taken of a whole.

Carriages as already created, babies were placed to bed in baby carriages. Carriages were also used for, as heard carriages as cradles of wood, bark, basketry, etc. The carriages of the Indians consisted of large pieces of firmness leather of various or canvas which could be folded and fastened on so to form a bag when the child was to be carried abroad. When in the house the carrier was generally unfolded for the greater convenience of the mother attending to the infant. The folds of the carrier formed a covering or blanket for the infant, who was further covered with robes, etc., as occasion required. Carriages were of two general styles. Those used for very young children consisted of a piece of skin almost square and amply large to fold around the child. It was folded across the child's body first from one side and then the other and fastened tightly with the strings sewed to the skin at the proper places. The folds overlapped in front forming a double ½ covering there. The doubled end was then folded up over the child's legs and fastened with the strings to the lower front of the body. The top of the skin was equal in height to the child's neck or head or extended ½ above the head if desired. Often the top was folded ½ so as to

where no young man would be likely to encounter it. A rich man might follow the birth of a child with a lavish feast.

People possessed a theory to explain the reproductive process. Conception, they thought, resulted from sexual intercourse, in the act of which the spermal fluid (kiago) entered the woman's body to mix there with the fluids discharged during her orgasm. The mixture of these substances produced the baby whose soul or wind entered through menstruation.[1] Repeated copulation developed the embryo but great frequency might produce twins. Contraceptive techniques remained scarcely suited to attain their intended end. To prevent herself from conceiving a woman might draw forth an inch or so when she sensed that her partner was on the point of ejaculating. Coitus interruptus and continence were not practiced with the end of reducing progeniture. According to our informants, if a husband and wife desisted from sexual relations the marriage would very likely break up and the man take up with another woman. One ritual designed to forestall conception involved a woman's mother filling the expelled placenta of her daughter's last pregnancy with porcupine quills and then cooking it in a pot. To burn the clothing worn during delivery also helped to avoid future impregnation. A girl who suffered extremely during parturition would beg her mother to perform that rite in spite of the fact that magic of this kind sometimes set to injury or illness. Barrenness shamed a woman as well as her parents and the cause always resided in the woman. To cure the condition a shaman might give her a strip of fur representing his animal spouse and this she wore as an outer belt. The husband of a barren woman also took a second wife without, however, quitting his barren spouse.

The Indians blamed falls and other mishaps for miscarriages but sorcery remained an always possible explanation for a spontaneous abortion that could not be linked with an accident. The aborted foetus, contained in a hollow log, was either cached in a tree or lodged between two poles. According to an informant's suggestion, premature babies represented reincarnated souls impatient for rebirth. Generally such infants died but without being neglected or killed. A stillbirth received the same treatment as an aborted foetus. Congenital deformations had their inception when the mother turned in her sleep, hence women in pregnancy were warned to sit up before turning over. As already indicated, frequent copulation between husband and wife in the early stage of pregnancy generated twins. A woman who persisted in an extramarital liaison during pregnancy might also come to deliver twins. Whatever their origin, twins symbolized good fortune. Male twins were destined to be good hunters. No case of triplets could be recalled.

The new parents did not resume sexual relations until about three months after delivery. Magically the avoidance protected a man from parturition danger with which his wife remained affected. During the length of the taboo the woman ate apart and used special utensils. Her stay in the birth camp, however, did not last beyond five days. No purification rites attached to the new father, who sought to occupy himself

[1] See below, pp. 137, 141, 143.

weapons like a bow. Persistence in such behavior, she learned, might affect a brother's future. Upon approaching puberty a boy began to seek a power dream with the active encouragement of his father. From now on he began to sleep in his own camp or perhaps in the company of older unmarried brothers. The custom probably reinforced the familiar-stem avoidance and is also said to have safeguarded youths in the event of a surprise enemy raid.

Upper River Kaska. To use feet, rabbit, and porcupine or other soft foods in pregnancy promised to facilitate delivery. Parturition took place in a birth camp, that consisted of a circular wall of willows surrounding a fireplace. Here older women brought food from the main camp and assisted in the process of delivery. An ordinary knife served for cutting the umbilicus. Later the stump of the cord was dried, wrapped in a piece of tanned skin and sewn to the baby's hat, where it remained until the child began to walk. An infant would cry for a long time if this amulet became lost. Eventually the cord would be replaced in a tree, where the skin-wrapped afterbirth had already been deposited (although it was probably not necessary that the same tree be employed). Following delivery the woman remained isolated and avoided sex relations for about three months.

Twins represented good fortune and neither of such a pair was killed. The Indians preferred boy babies to girls because the former would become hunters. Apparently female infanticide was sometimes condoned.[1]

Breast feeding lasted until about the age of three. On journeys, when a child began to cry the whole group of women might halt while it nursed. In winter during outdoor feeding fire had to be made for the nursing woman's comfort. No principles of nursing were specified and exclusivity was denied.

Elders pursued nonviolent discipline. Children beyond the age of five who misbehaved or refused to heed parents' warnings were struck with the hands alone. Crawling in a young child met no discouragement. Toys included the bone toy, bull-roarer, rawhide rattle, hoop to be pushed by a pole, and hollow moose hooves hung on a pole, which a child delighted in shaking. Dolls were not played with but string figures, a pastime said to have been derived from the Tahu Indians, furnished children with a pleasant occupation.

ADOLESCENCE

Upper Liard Kaska. Coinciding with the vision quest, which in a sense marked the completion of childhood, a boy received training in hardihood and endurance.[2] In autumn he stripped and plunged into icy water. When winter came, groups of naked boys rolled in soft snow, after which some older men whipped the youths with willows. A boy never cried out in pain during such a trial but he could protect his chest with crossed arms and might escape when he reached the limit of endurance. A mild com-

[1] Among the Tlingit, infant girls were sometimes strangled. Twins being regarded as an "evil omen" were also put to death. Jones, *Study of the Tlingets of Alaska* (1914), 121.

[2] Perhaps the exercises began earlier and finished at puberty, as among the Navaho. Leighton and Kluckhohn, *Children of the People* (1947), 56-57.